/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ẹwãguddu) Baiaddadaõ
J. Ārõre čẹbegeõõ
K. Ārõre
L. Ki
M. Ẹwãguddu čãbõgeõõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bõro Čera
P. Ąpibore
Q. Ẹwãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
301 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round,
614 pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows)
237 on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C).
614 The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and poᵃri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Ārõre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

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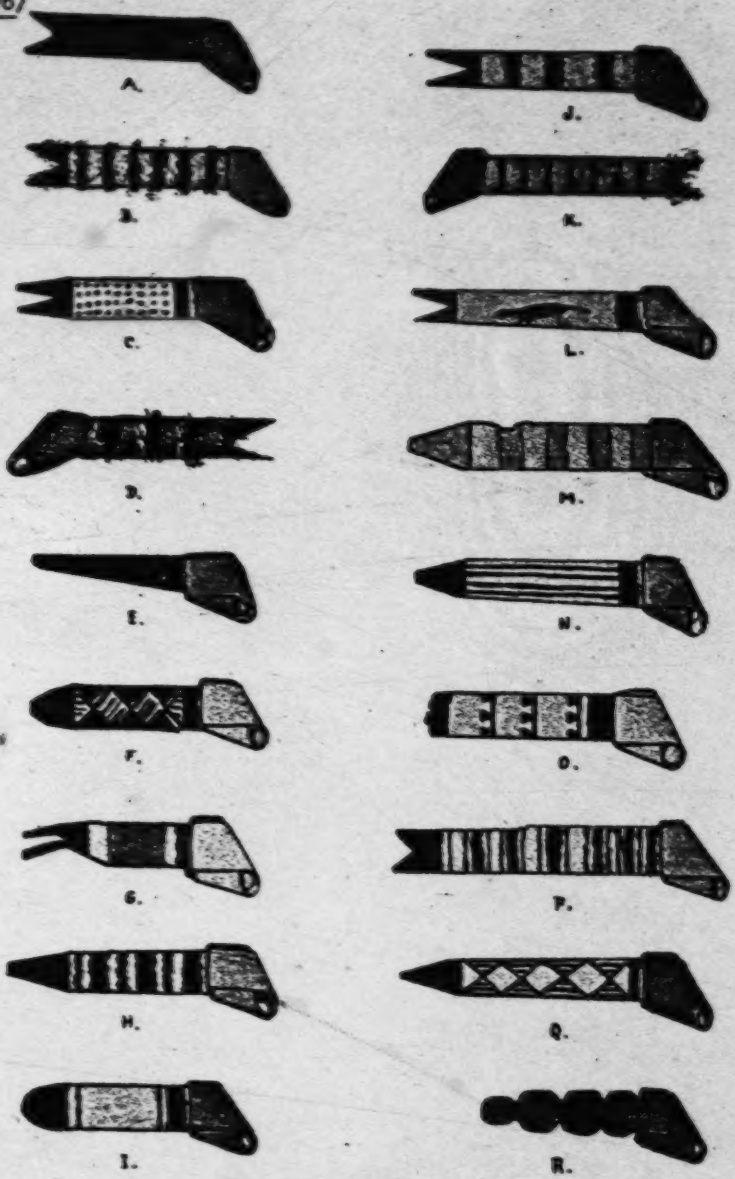

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

Plate
VII

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A

[301]

B

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C

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate VIII

342
361

A

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B

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C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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Plate X

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A

B

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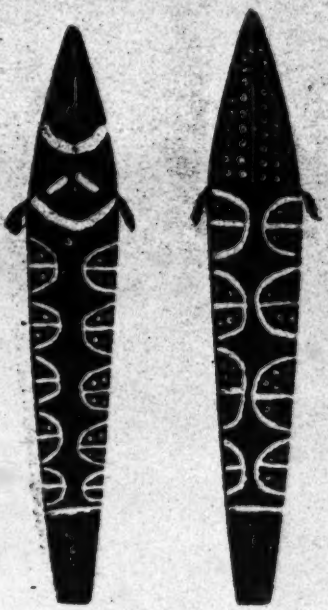
C



D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray perineal band,
or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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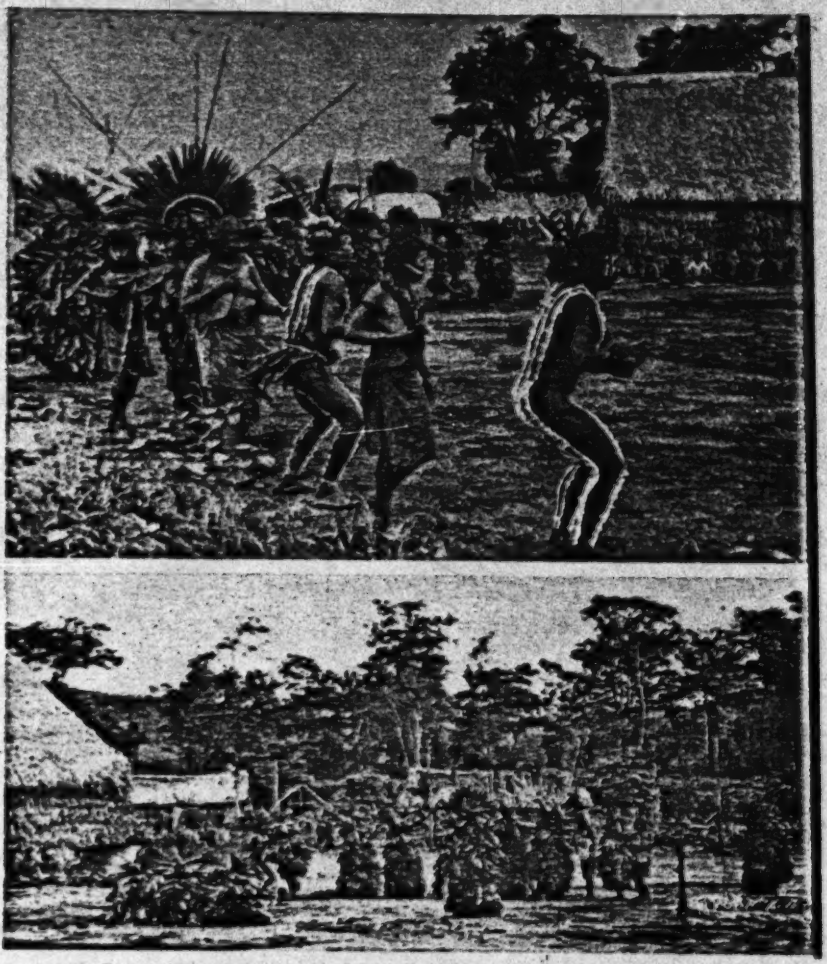

PLATE 88.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dance of the Kwegeddu clan, some dancers in leaf costumes, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Kejara

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PLATE II.—Bororo festival at village of Kejara. *Top:* Dance of the "Mariddo." *Bottom:* Presentation of the "Mariddo." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[p. 432-E]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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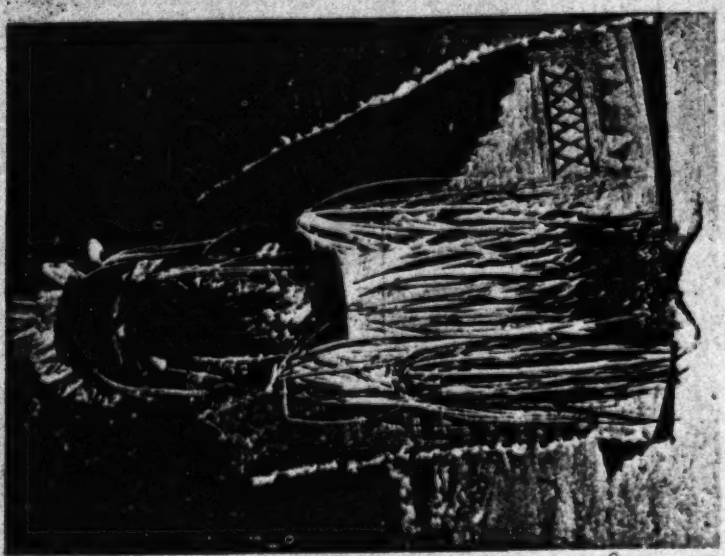

PLATE III.—Bororo feather headdresses. Ala da Casapalha. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 - G]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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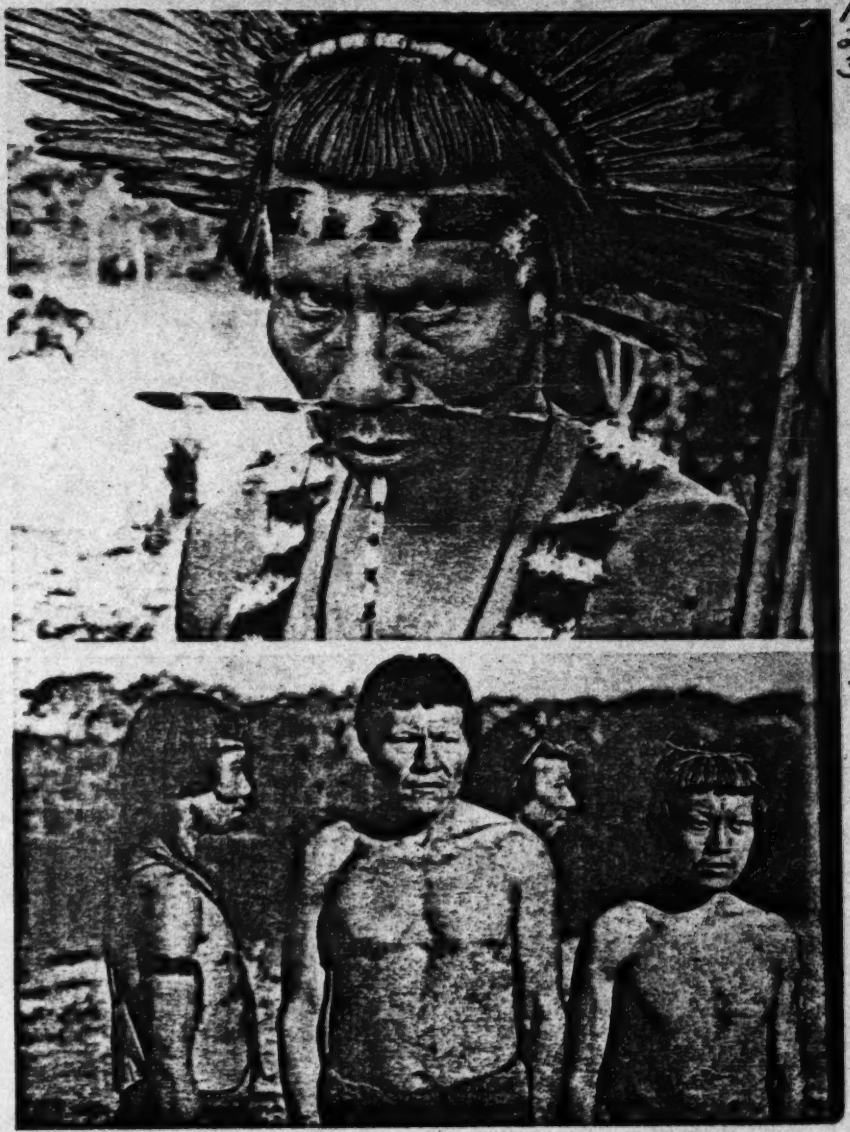

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PLATE 98.—Bororo Indian types. *Top:* Man in festival dress, with feathers through nasal septum and ears and beads through lower lip. Village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Bottom:* São Lourenço men. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432 -H]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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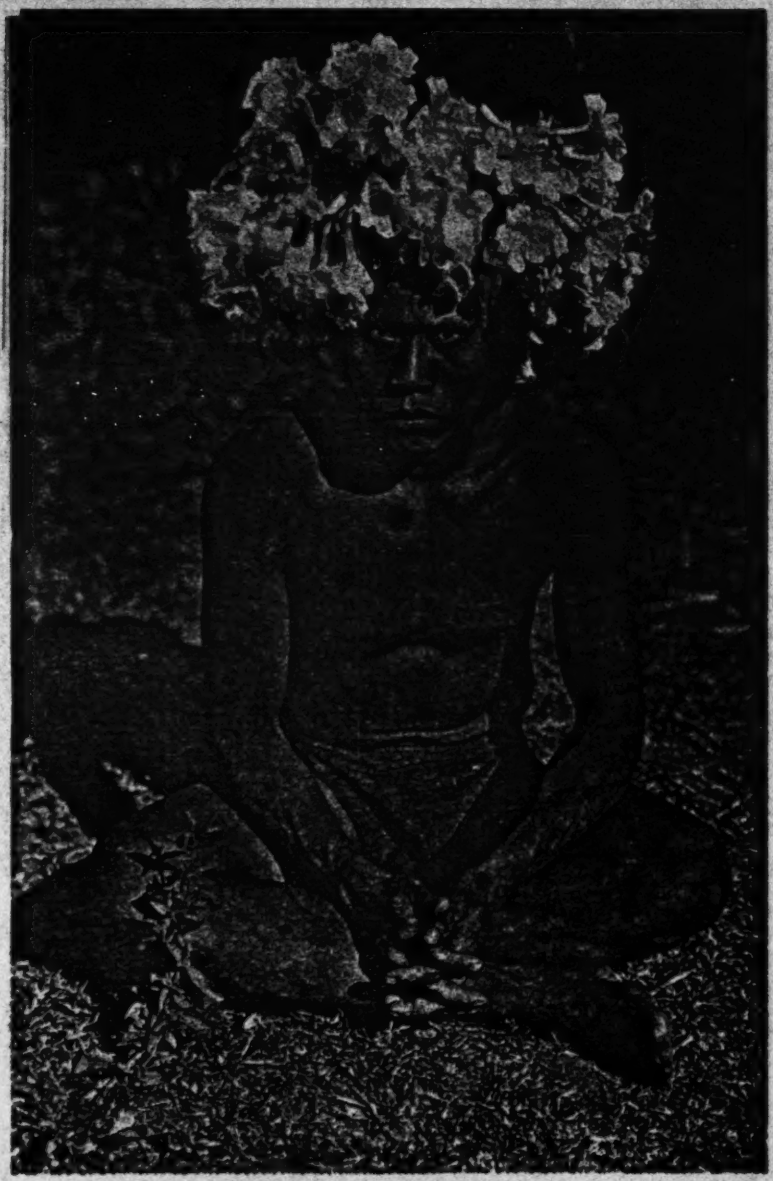

PLATE II.—Bororo man. São Lourenço. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8

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FIGURE 2. THE JAGUAR DANCE OF THE BORORO AT CHAPADA.

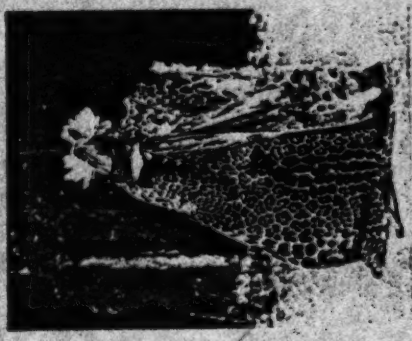

FIGURE 4. BACK VIEW OF THE JAGUAR COSTUME

[133]

FIGURE 1. AN VIEW OF THE FEATHER PANTHER.

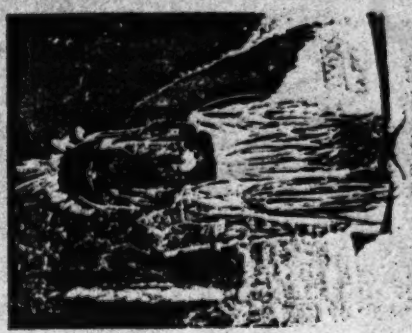

FIGURE 3. THE IMPERSONATOR OF THE JAGUAR

[P. 99]

[Plate III]

[Bororo da Campanha]

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533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently
taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted
on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms
were fastened armulets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face
was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men
under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of
palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoul-
ders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which
was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one
could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of
many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal
completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on
the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment
of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar'
dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals
in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began
in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts
or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did
not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed
with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side.
His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his
body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the
women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not
leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunting or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat, drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Ararore) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)

enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo irogodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)

imo pariko (a headdress)

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Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo irogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.

769 Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it

115 possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

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IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

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[435]

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

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ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

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[775]

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

8:Kenfik C-8 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bocoo SPS

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PALM SAP, which has been allowed to ferment slightly, refreshes a dancer who has temporarily dropped out of the ceremony. His headdress is palm frond.

[p. 45-B]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Baroco SP8

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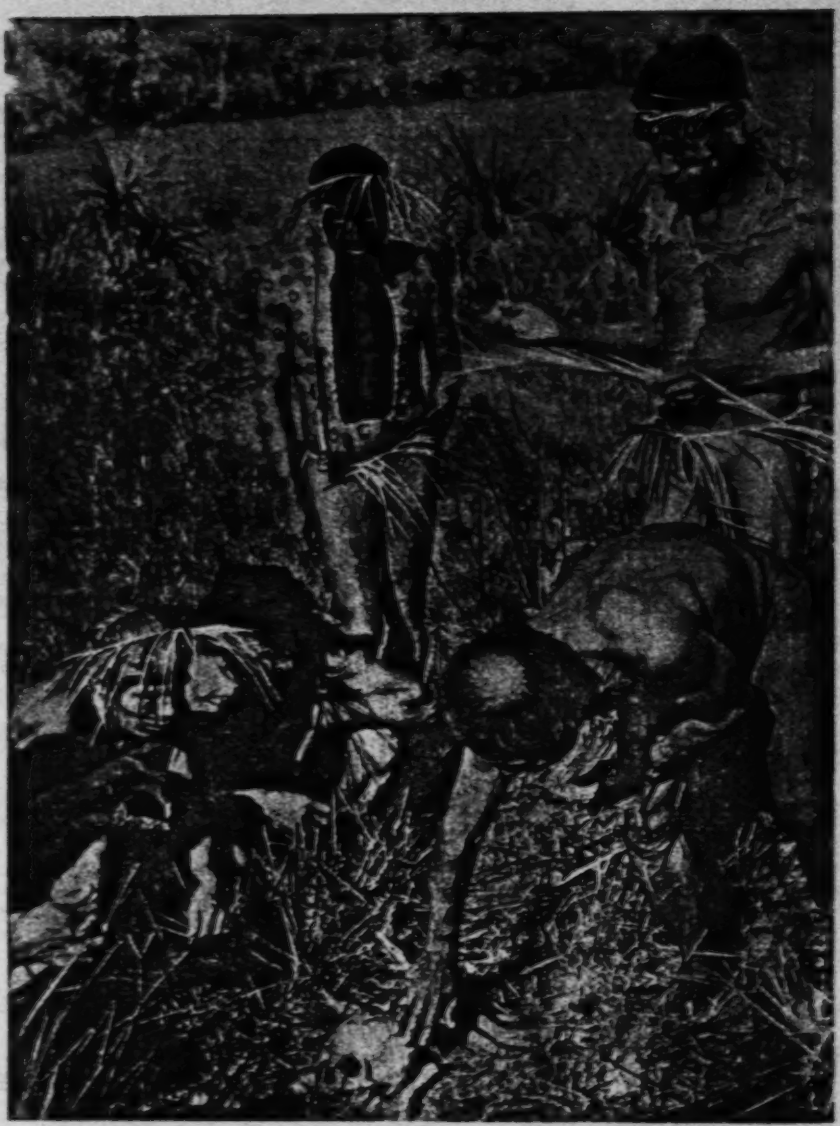

ONLY MEN take part in washing bones in swamp near village. Shaman touches skull in a kind of benediction before all bones are taken back to the plaza.

[p. 46-A]

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MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p.47-C]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bozoro SP8

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SPS Borero SPS

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bá. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the taton canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[775] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings.
[533] During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[775] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Bororó chief.

daughter depending upon which relative died, and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and dances in the *arduto*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduto*, which is given every year at the beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduto;* and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear long mantles made from buriti leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buriti bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buriti leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

The givers of the *arduto* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduto* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.